

May God hold you in the palm of His hand.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GORTON). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business with Senators permitted to speak for up to 10 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMITH of Oregon). Without objection, it is so ordered.

IRAN NONPROLIFERATION ACT OF 1999—Continued

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I rise to speak on the Iran Nonproliferation Act. I note, as many do, the encouraging election results that happened this past week within Iran. I say encouraging because perhaps that country is moving towards a more open policy, a better policy of engagement with the rest of the world and the United States.

I want to point out some facts and some reasons that this act should be passed. Iran remains a danger to the United States and to our friends in the Middle East, particularly to Israel. It is a fact.

Iran continues as the largest state supporter of international terrorism, the bankroller of munitions supplied to Hezbollah in Lebanon and to Islamic Jihad and Hamas. It is still opposed to the Israeli peace process and to peace under any circumstances with Israel.

Those are all the facts, and they remain the facts, in spite of the fact that a so-called moderate President Khatami has been in power in Iran for 2½ years. I know some would say he does not have full control, and he doesn't, nor will he after these elections. This will remain the factual situation even after this election.

I don't think the United States should act on hope but on fact. The recent Hezbollah attacks on Israeli soldiers could not have happened without Iranian approval. Those attacks, made possible by the continued funneling of

arms from Iran to Hezbollah, were undertaken primarily to derail the peace process. After all, Israel has already committed itself to withdraw from Lebanon by July.

Even more worrisome is Iran's effort to acquire weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to be able to deliver them. The administration has already sanctioned 10 Russian entities for providing dangerous technologies to Iran but readily admits that the flow continues. Thousands of Russian scientists and technicians are at work in Iran helping these efforts. This remains the fact today.

Iran has already flight-tested a missile capable of reaching Israel and is working on longer range missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads. Fact.

Under the guise of peaceful nuclear energy development, Iran is spending billions to develop a nuclear infrastructure. Iran, a country rich in both oil and natural gas, needs to develop nuclear energy about as much as Alaska needs artificial snowmaking machines.

The picture gets worse. CIA Director Tenet, in testimony before the Armed Services Committee earlier this month, forecast the possibility that Iran might become a supplier in its own right of missile technology as it develops its own indigenous production capability. Fact.

Those are the facts. Iran is getting this dangerous technology from North Korea and China, but its primary source remains Russia. Russian entities have assisted Iran in the development of a missile capable of hitting Israel. They are also the main technology sources for a longer range missile, the Kosar, that could hit the heart of Europe with nuclear warheads. Fact.

The Russian Government has also signed peaceful nuclear cooperation agreements with Iran to build nuclear power reactors. Iran is reportedly using this legal cooperation to make clandestine efforts to procure nuclear material and to develop the ability to produce weapons-grade nuclear material on its own.

The administration sought to get the Russian Government to stop this flow, and the Russians have taken some steps. They have passed legislation to create an export control regime, for example, but they have done little to enforce it. Not one Russian has been convicted of passing dangerous technology to Iran. Not a single Russian has been convicted under this law.

That is why we must keep the heat on. This legislation requires the President to report to Congress, in a classified form if he deems it necessary, credible information on any entity anywhere in the world that is providing Iran with dangerous technology. It then authorizes him to sanction those entities. If he chose not to, he would then report to Congress on his rationale for not sanctioning. So, in the first instance, this legislation captures China, North Korea, and any oth-

ers who are providing Iran the wherewithal to obtain weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to deliver them.

It goes a step further. Over the past few years, the Russians have been unable to meet their limited financial obligations to the creation of the international space station, so we have been helping them out, paying part of their funding in addition to our own, considerably larger, space station obligations. As it happens, the recipient of this money, the Russian Space Agency, their NASA, is also the Russian governmental entity with jurisdiction over any entity in Russia dealing with missile technology.

Therefore, this legislation requires the President to certify three things before we can continue to pay the Russian share of the space station: That it is Russian policy to stop proliferation to Iran, that they are taking the steps necessary to prevent the proliferation, and that no entity under the jurisdiction of the Russian space station is cooperating with the Iranian missile program.

If we are going to pay Russian obligations, then we have the right to suggest they must do everything they can to stop the proliferation to Iran—something that threatens not only America and our friends but, ultimately, Russia as well. It cannot be in Russia's interests to have a nuclear-armed Iran sitting on its borders.

Some may say, with the recent elections in Iran in which the moderates appear to have done very well, indeed this is not the time to push this legislation. Unfortunately, as I pointed out earlier, even under the reportedly moderate President Khatami over the last 2½ years, Iranian support for terrorism and its weapons technology acquisition have not diminished. Those facts remain.

Hard-liners remain in charge of Iranian security and foreign policy; they will after this election, as well. It may be that at some point in the future Iranian moderates may seek a different course. They have not to date. But for now, they have neither the ability nor necessarily the interest. They appear much more interested in reforming Iranian domestic policy than in all of these problems they are creating internationally. That means we cannot let down our guard. We must do everything we can to stop the flow of technology, to raise the cost of developing weapons of mass destruction, and to delay the time at which Iran could have such a capability.

This is the purpose of this legislation and why I strongly urge its adoption. While the timing of this legislation may not seem the best, perhaps it is the absolute right time. We need to make clear to the Iranian people, particularly their leadership on foreign policy and these terrorist items, that this is unacceptable behavior for them and for the rest of the world to have to tolerate. The development of these